1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

responsible for the children, especially during their early years, but they are frequently sent 'to the *oluina*', i.e. to the mother's brother for at least a part of their education. Herein has arisen a conflict between the claims of the paternal household and the maternal kinship group. Economic and other forces seem to have favoured the former so that 'During these days in which we stand, things have changed somewhat so that as between children and their parents, they work for their fathers for they say, "A child is strong with his *oluse* and less so with his *oluina*." Nowadays a man teaches a child work and also looks out for his education that he may advance properly. His mother's brothers (*va inanu*) have no longer much power as of old.'[1]

Bearing in mind their bilateral nature and the fact that every Ocimbundu belongs at the same time to his paternal (*oluse*) and to his maternal (*oluina*) groups, the functions of these kinship groups may be summarized as follows:

Oluse	*Oluina*
SOCIAL	
Consists of local residence units; succession of village and tribal offices from father to son, or elder to younger brother.	Extended family organization; office of family head descends from mother's brother to sister's son; children belong.
Marriage allowed between cross-cousins and other relatives of non-parallel descent; couple lives at groom's father's village.	*Marriage preferred* between cross-cousins and other relatives of non-parallel descent; children belong to mother's *oluina*.
EDUCATIONAL	
Responsibility for education of young children, especially in social usage.	Responsibility sometimes assumed in later childhood, especially for technical phases.
ECONOMIC	
Ownership and inheritance of land. (Passed from father to son or elder to younger brother.)	Ownership and inheritance of more largely negotiable and movable property, as e.g. trade goods, cattle, &c. (passed from mother's brother to sister's son).

[1] Raul Kavita Evambi, op. cit.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

teachers who have themselves had traditional training and have maintained their own kinship ties, then we can work out with them sound social methods.

Language teaching is of great importance in the field under consideration. The mission schools have produced remarkable results in their teaching of the Portuguese language, results probably unequalled by schools similarly situated and conditioned elsewhere. Regulations prohibiting the vernacular except in religious instruction, and requiring the use of Portuguese in all schools from the start,[1] have created great difficulties. No responsible person in touch with the situation questions the utility of teaching the language of the European colonial power, but the educational soundness of attempting to use, as a medium from the start, a language which is not used in the home is open to serious question. It is obvious that such a policy must seriously curtail the effectiveness of the school. The vernacular is still allowed for 'religious instruction' but beyond this, almost nothing but instruction in the Portuguese language can be accomplished. This policy compartmentalizes the school work to an unfortunate degree and places such emphasis on the mere acquiring of a language that the whole programme is warped. It is even inefficient as regards the teaching of the language itself, for pupils who have first had systematic instruction in their mother tongue are by that fact better equipped to acquire a European language.[2]

The French colonial authorities, who first applied language regulations of this sort in Africa, have come to realize the necessity for some modifications in practice. Gouverneur-Général Brévié, of Afrique Occidentale Française, in December 1931 stated:

> . . . In order that this system of education may produce the best results immediately, we must not hesitate to have recourse to the local

[1] Enforced since 1922 under the provisions of Decree 77 of 9 Dec., 1921 (*Boletim Oficial* No. 50, 1921). The text with an English translation may be found in *Treaties, Acts, and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom* (London: International Missionary Council, 1923). A law of April 1938 lays down still more difficult regulations regarding the teaching of Portuguese and includes certain provisions which frankly discriminate between Protestant and Roman Catholic mission schools.

[2] 'in Achimota (Gold Coast) . . . by means of convincing tests it has been established that a child educated in his mother tongue in one year obtains a knowledge of English which otherwise would take him six years to acquire' (Gouverneur-Général Olivier, *Six Ans de Politique Sociale à Madagascar*, chap. v, quoted by Paul Crouzet in the *Educational Yearbook 1931*, p. 472).

VII. EDUCATION

Industrial Training and Division of Labor

871 Usually there is no formality connected with the industrial and occupational training of Ovimbundu children. The section dealing with play shows that boys and girls learn by spontaneous imitation of their elders.

874 There are, however, exceptions to this general truth. Special rites connected with the training and inauguration of blacksmiths and hunters have been described. The training of medicine-men and women will be dealt with in chapter IX, "Religion."

462 463 In describing economic life in chapter V, division of labor on a sex basis; also specialization in industry because of peculiar tastes and aptitudes, were noted. There is clearly a twofold division in industrial life. In the first place sex determines occupation, and within this primary grouping there is a secondary grouping depending [467] on personal preference and individual ability. I have found no instance of exclusive hereditary right to any occupation or industry.

462 The net result of the Umbundu system of division of labor is indicated by the following summary:

[342] When building houses, men dig the rectangular trench, cut the poles for the framework, lash the crosspieces, cut grass and lay the thatch, then place clay over the wattle walls. Women carry water for mixing the clay and convey the moist clay to the plasterers. [224] Children puddle the clay with their feet. Males are hunters both professional and general. During a communal hunt women and children assist in driving game, which is frightened by the firing of [857] grass. Boys organize games in which they imitate these activities. [226] Men fish with a line and bait, whereas women use baskets and [231] narcotic poison. Men and boys take care of cattle and have charge of dogs. Women and girls give what slight attention is afforded to other domestic animals. Male specialists castrate bulls and goats.

[241] During agricultural operations men clear the ground and burn the bush. Women carry on hoe cultivation without assistance from [482] men. Men are the chief carriers in caravans, but women and children may sometimes be seen carrying loads. They march in line with the men but have smaller burdens. Males are employed in blacksmith's work, wood-carving, making weapons and tools, weaving mats, dressing hides, spinning cotton, and formerly in weaving on an upright loom. Men are exclusively the makers of